

RECOGNITION OF CO-EQUALITY OF  
NATIONS AND ACCEPTANCE OF  
PUBLICITY OF ALL OFFICIAL ACTION IN  
CONNECTION WITH INTERNATIONAL  
COMPETITION    ❖   ❖   ❖   ❖

NOV. 1915

FOLLOWED BY

AUG. 1916

BASES OF A LASTING PEACE



*Translation by Miss J. H. Chambers.*

O. KAMERLINGH ONNES

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**RECOGNITION OF CO-EQUALITY OF NATIONS AND  
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**(An imperative requirement for peace)**

*Note*

*Written for the Dutch organisation „Peace through Justice”,  
(Nov. 1915)*

**FOLLOWED BY  
BASES OF A LASTING PEACE,  
(Aug. 1916)**

BY

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AMSTERDAM**



*Translation by Miss J. H. Chambers*

GORINCHEM (HOLLAND)  
**J. NOORDUIJN & ZOON**  
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Euro. War etc. - Peace  
Arbitration - International  
RECIGNITION OF CO-EQUALITY OF NATIONS  
AND ACCEPTANCE OF PUBLICITY OF ALL  
OFFICIAL ACTION IN CONNECTION WITH  
INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION 1)

(AN IMPERATIVE REQUIREMENT FOR PEACE).

No peace is conceivable without  
good faith, no good faith with  
fear of publicity.

Business is business: a great deal of evil has been  
caused by this conception of covetousness, namely  
the erasure of the subtle boundary line between honour  
and advantage, in business life as well as politics,

1) A historical sketch as a preface to these observations  
has been omitted for the sake of brevity. The astounding  
complications of the present moment should however not  
cause the history to be lost sight of. Numerous facts exhibit  
a tragic connection. In the foremost place as regards the  
hard fate of Belgium, the country which may pride itself  
on great services done for internationalism, viz. the intellec-  
tual union of nations.

"Belgium has done nobly for the work of peace" (Prof.  
J. C. Bracq. U. S. A., 1902).

"L'idée des Congrès scientifiques est née en Allemagne,  
elle dû son origine à Alex. v. Humboldt. — C'est à Bruxelles  
que s'est réuni en 1848 le premier congrès vraiment inter-  
national de la Paix sous le nom Congrès des amis de la  
Paix universelle, qui jeta les bases de l'oeuvre d'où sont  
sortis: le Bureau international de la Paix, la Codification  
des lois de la guerre, la Convention de Genève instituant  
la Croix Rouge, l'Union Inter-parlementaire, la Cour Per-  
manente d'Arbitrage, l'Institut Nobel de la Paix. — 420 réunions  
internationales ont tenu leurs assises sur le sol belge". (La  
Belgique et le Mouvement international. 1913).

In 1863 Napoleon III, Emperor of France, addressed to all  
the sovereigns in Europe the following proposal for a con-  
ference: "Si l'on considère attentivement la situation des divers  
pays, il est impossible de ne pas reconnaître que, presque sur  
tous les points, les Traités de Vienne sont détruits, modifiés,  
méconnus ou menacés. De là, des devoirs sans règle, des  
droits sans titre et des prétentions sans frein. Péril d'autant

either for the sake of gain or for a "place in the sun". It was of this modern craving, covetousness acting as the motive force of international competition, that the present war was born. Could the

plus redoutable, que les perfectionnements amenés par la civilisation, qui a lié les peuples entre eux par la solidarité des intérêts matériels, rendraient la guerre plus destructive encore. C'est là un sujet de graves méditations. N'attendons pas pour prendre un parti que des événements soudains, irrésistibles, troublent notre jugement et nous entraînent, malgré nous, dans des directions contraires. Je viens donc proposer à Votre Majesté de régler le présent et d'assurer l'avenir dans un congrès. Appelé au trône par la Providence et par la volonté du peuple français, mais élevé à l'école de l'adversité il m'est peut-être moins permis qu'à un autre d'ignorer et les droits des souverains et les légitimes aspirations des peuples. Aussi je suis prêt, sans système préconçu, à porter dans un conseil international l'esprit de modération et de justice, partage ordinaire de ceux qui ont subi tant d'épreuves diverses". (Paris le 4 Nov. 1863). Seven years later the Emperor of the French was taken prisoner.

As early as 1816 Russia and Austria (the Prince Regent of England having taken the initiative) considered the desirability of disarming. Was it the calamities of the terrible European war which moved the Sovereigns to take this step? And was a lack of preparation only, the cause of the failure of this attempt two years later? Eighty-two years afterwards we see the present Emperor of Russia taking the initiative for peace in a more fortunate manner.

In August 1898 and immediately afterwards on December 30, 1898, there went forth from Alexander II the appeal which was to result in the foundation of the Peace Palace at the Hague. The "Message du Czar" states among other matters: „Le maintien de la paix générale et une réduction possible des armements excessifs, qui pèsent sur toutes les nations, se présentent, dans la situation actuelle du monde entier, comme l'idéal auquel devraient tendre les efforts de tous les Gouvernements. La conservation de la paix a été posée comme le but de la politique internationale. Les forces intellectuelles et physiques des peuples, le travail et le capital sont en majeure partie détournés de leur application naturelle. Des centaines de millions sont employés à acquérir des engins de destruction effroyables. Sa Majesté a daigné m'ordonner de proposer à tous les Gouvernements la réunion, d'une conférence, qui aurait à s'occuper de ce grave problème.



causes be regarded as belonging to the past, the onlookers,—although in the midst of an astounding destruction of human life—might at any rate be able to look upon this destruction as an evil necessarily wasting away to extinction 2). For observant witnesses, however, these distressing facts are by no

Cette Conférence serait, Dieu aidant, d'un heureux présage pour le siècle qui va s'ouvrir". (St. Petersburg 12/24 Août 1898). The circular of December 30 mentions general accord and indicates the subjects for the proposed discussion, whilst as regards the place of assembling the following is stated: „En vous adressant, Monsieur l'Envoyé, la demande de bien vouloir prendre au sujet de ma présente communication les ordres de votre Gouvernement, je vous prie en même temps de porter à sa connaissance que dans l'intérêt de la grande cause, que tient si particulièrement à coeur à mon Auguste Maître, Sa Majesté Impériale juge qu'il serait utile que la Conférence ne siège pas dans la Capitale de l'Une des grandes Puissances, où se concentrent tant d'intérêts politiques qui pourraient peut-être réagir sur la marche d'une oeuvre à laquelle sont intéressés à un égal degré tous les pays de l'univers". (St. Pétersbourg, le 30 Décembre 1898/11 Janvier 1899.)

The principle of equality of the nations, proposed in the last paragraph of the circular of December 30, 1898, which is of so great an importance for peace, was introduced, and the first Peace Conference was brought about. Is it not indeed tragic that lack of confidence in the same principle of equality was the cause that one of the greatest States considered itself injured and through exercising an ever increasing pressure, became involved in war.

2) „Was man wollte war ein mittleres, man wollte, sei es auf England, sei es auf andere Mächte einen solchen Druck ausüben können, dass diese sich genötigt sahen, Deutschland in der Weltpolitik den Platz an der Sonne zu gönnen, auf dem es gemäss seiner Macht und seines inneren Wertes neben den anderen Mächte einen Anspruch hat. Unausgesetzt wurden gewaltige neue Gebiete in Afrika und in Asien zwischen Engländern und Franzosen, Russen, Amerikanern und Japanern neu verteilt, Deutschland konnte und wollte davon auf der Dauer nicht ausgeschlossen bleiben". (Prof. Dr. H. Delbrück, Berlin 1915).

„... wenn Aussicht bestanden hätte, dass die damals noch unvergebenen Ueberseegebiete dem Internationalen Handel

means an assurance that when this slaughter is ended the light of pure reason, clearer than before, will guide the nations and their mutual rivalry.

An end cannot fail to come to the exhaustion which at present is the only mutual thought dominating the

offen bleiben würden, so wäre es zu diesem Schritte der deutschen Politik vielleicht nie gekommen". (Staatsekretär Dr. W. Solf, Berlin 1915).

Prange, who quotes Jentsch: „das Land dass uns fehlt wächst uns nicht von selber zu", writes November 1914 „Gewiss es geht gegen England. Aber gegen Russland gilt es: carpe diem, pflücke den Tag". And further: „Wer möchte da die Prinzipienreiterei so weit treiben derartige Unterjochung fremder Völker zu unterlassen"? Dr. Otto Prange 1914.

With regard to the need of increasing the area of Germany, such contradictory views have been defended that in this respect, too, one could speak of a tragic conflict. „Nicht mehr lange" writes Dr. Otto Prange (1914) „könnte Deutschland noch den Wachstum seiner Bevölkerung ertragen ohne dass sich der ihm vom Schicksal zugemessene landwirtschaftliche nutzbare Boden dehnt". And June 1913, at the jubilee of emperor William II, the wirkli. Geh. Legationsrat von König, wrote: „Die jährliche Zahl der deutschen Auswanderer vor 30 Jahren noch fast 200.000, betrug im Jahre der Tronbesteigung unseres Kaisers nur noch wenig über 100.000 und ist zurzeit auf weniger als ein Viertel dieser Ziffer gesunken. Wir brauchen alle unsere Kräfte und viele Hunderttausende fremde Arbeiter in Landwirtschaft und Industrie". (1913).

„Zu diesem Kampf für die Gleichberechtigung der Nationen" writes Prof. Dr. Schumacher in Bonn „fühlt sich Deutschland als Vertreter der Kulturmenschheit".

On the other hand the Chief Editor of the Berliner Tageblatt writes (Oct. 1915): „Dieser Krieg ist ein rein politischer und er hat, wie übrigens Kriege im allgemeinen, mit der Kultur nur sehr wenig zu tun". (Theod. Wolff).

Besides how seriously it had repeatedly been declared that war was injurious to the character of a nation. „Vergebens suche ich" — writes Kehrbach — „auch zu bemerken, dass der letzte Krieg (1870/71) uns auf Gebiete der Religion, der Kunst, dem Materialismus entrissen hat. Nur von der Kriminalstatistik vollends wird niemand behaupten dass sie nach dem letzten Kriege den Beleg einer sittlichen Besserung des deutschen Volkes gegeben habe".

„Had we" — wrote J. S. Mill in the Times November 1870 —

minds of the belligerents. Whatever the measure be in which the losses are made good from available reserves, there is a limit to any reserve; and the daily increasing losses at all the fronts bring this limit unavoidably nearer. How will this bitterly divided Europe then recommence international intercourse?

This question should not be considered premature, for its prompt solution is of the greatest possible importance to humanity.

It is the duty of the onlookers,—in this case of all who have remained free, free at any rate from the far-reaching confusion of mental conceptions fed by this war-misery,—it is the duty of us, the neutrals, the privileged ones, to endeavour to find a satisfactory solution, one which will not only satisfy the parties, but mankind as a whole. We, neutrals, must impose upon ourselves those sacrifices which will enhance the international spirit of co-operation. To this end we shall have to draft the necessary agreements and at the same time cause them to take effect before the belligerent parties resume their places in international life, in order that, on doing so, both the victor and the vanquished be bound to accept these agreements as an inviolable common possession of the reformed social organisation,

The serious imperfections which have turned international competition into a weapon of war, contrary

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at the first breaking out of the present hateful war (1870/71) declared that whichever party first invaded the territory of the other would have England also for its foe, we should at an extremely small risk to ourselves, in all human probability have prevented the war and perhaps given commencement to a new era in the settlement of international differences”.

to the character of such competition, will have to be our criterion of the bitter experience which has resulted in this calamitous world-wide conflict. We shall have to banish the numerous baser matters from international rivalry, from all official action in the business sphere as well as from politics.

It is no easy matter to attain to this aim, but the earnest determination of the neutrals to combine in the international domain "official intercourse" with good faith, and the recognition by each power of each others' co-equality, does not demand from any State, in international rivalry, more than the abandonment of all secret war-purposes.

If this principle be accepted, the regulation of details cannot in any case lead us back to the present-day maze, in which the insincerity of international friendly relations is trapped, logically and sanguinarily 3).

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3) Une fois le principe du droit admis les moyens d'adaptation et d'exécution sont accessoires". (Prof. Ch. Richet Paris, 1905).

„Denn das Wahre, sobald es — wäre es auch nur in einem Menschen — tief eindringende Wurzeln fasst, verbreitet immer heilsame Folgen auf das wirkliche Leben". (W. von Humboldt 1792).

„Wenn es Pflicht, wenn zugleich gegründete Hoffnung da ist" — wrote Immanuel Kant — „den Zustand eines öffentlichen Rechts, obgleich nur in einer uns unendliche fortschreitende Annäherung wirklich zu machen, so ist der ewige Friede, der auf die bisher fälschlich so genannten Friedensschlüsse (eigentlich Waffenstillstände) — folgt, keine leere Idee, sondern eine Aufgabe, die nach und nach aufgelöst, ihrem Ziele (weil die Zeiten in denen gleiche Fortschritte geschehen, hoffentlich immer kürzer werden) beständig näher kommt" (1795). And further: „Das Völkerrecht soll auf einen Föderalismus freier Staaten gegründet sein". (I. Kant, 1795).

„Das ganze Völkerrecht ist Gemeinschaftsrecht, es hängt, wie schon anfangs gesagt, von der Anerkennung ab, dass die Staaten einander gleichgeordnet sind". (Prof. Zitelmann Bonn, 1915).

A straight line alone permits of no deviation. To guard against any deviation from this line when laying the foundation for international life, is not too severe a requirement for any body of men, entrusted with the task of giving publicity to international commercial action and international politics.

The uncertainty of the present moment does not constitute an obstacle to the immediate acceptance of this task.

We must leave out of consideration the results arising from a total victory on one side and a total defeat on the other. The calamities connected with such a result would cause so tremendous an upheaval in Europe that it would be well-nigh impossible to continue building with the past as a foundation. The thought of unbearable humiliation and of ever impending domination, would result in a condition of chaos which would overthrow the entire progress of civilisation of recent years in Europe. There are grounds indeed for regarding such extremes as an impossibility, especially on account of the advance in the domain of civilisation attained in recent years.

In spite of the apparent contempt for the idea of peace shown throughout this war, in spite of the studied

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„If justice is established between nations, peace will follow as a matter of course. N. M. Butler, Pres. of Columbia Univ., Pres. of the Amer. Assoc. for Intern. Conciliation, 1907.

„Voici le vrai pacifisme: il respecte la dignité réciproque des peuples et assure l'équilibre des droits". (G. Hanotaux, 1914).

„Il serait également inutile de maintenir à l'alliance une apparence formelle qui ne serait destinée qu'à dissimuler la réalité d'une méfiance continuelle et des contrastes quotidiens" (l'Ambassade de l'Italie à Vienne, 1915).

unwillingness of social democrats and the lamentable impotence of religion and science to express their veto, it is nevertheless beyond all doubt that, as soon as the war ends, no human power will be able to restrain public opinion from protesting against permanent humiliation of individuals, irrespective of the nation to which they belonged prior to the war. The fact that this mad warfare is not interfered with, gives us the assurance that it will not be possible to decide its outcome without the interference of those parties who are now onlookers. It is this interference—the demand of the non-belligerents for “suffrage”—in Europe, in North and South America and Asia as well, that will, when aroused, reach further than the sword.

This is pre-eminently the bright side, which we owe to the growth of international thought during the many years of peace lying behind us. It is the influence of the desire for deeds which moved men like Alfred Nobel and Andrew Carnegie to make great sacrifices to peace. It is the triumph of science over war, over the brute force of ignorance.

But however much we may trust that the final decision in this stupendous war will not be by the sword, we may not again, confiding in progress, permit overbearing forces to remain unbridled in our unprotected social organisation.

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There are two grave shortcomings for which all advocates of straightforward progress—progress which aims at general welfare—must reproach themselves, firstly for having been too inattentive, and

secondly for having yielded too easily 4). Both are the cause of the fact that, in the very bosoms of the unconscious nations, the fraud of a hostile diplomacy—concealed infamously by the solemn presentation of credentials—could assume such proportions that one single sanguinary royal drama should bring about the ruin of millions.

Unwitting nations, officially recognised in their foreign relations as “most favoured nation”, in the space of twenty-four hours were changed from friend to foe, with a cynicism which at one time was considered impossible in this century, like a blow in the face to all sentiments of justice, honour and civilisation. Worse than this, unwitting defenceless citizens have been murdered with inconceivable barbarity for no other reason than that they formed part of a nation whose government was stigmatised as criminal by the opponent. Was not the violation of Belgium’s territory the consequence of a conviction—a secret conviction alas!—fed by hostile influences on her own soil, concerning which the stricken nation was kept absolutely in the dark? And in all the frontier districts ravaged by the war, did not the rustic population, women and children included, unprotected and unwitting as they were, fall victims to diplomatic fraud!

Terrible indeed is the suffering endured without the slightest publicity of its true cause, without a chance of escape, the victims being simply crushed, over-

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4) The possibility is not precluded that the nameless misery, which the war now raging is spreading everywhere, will give to public opinion so tremendous a shock as to constrain it to hold pacific views. (Dr. W. H. de Beaufort, form. Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, 1914).

whelmed by a menace of war which, if it had been announced a few hours previously, would have been listened to as an utterance of complete insanity.

The thought should remain firmly fixed in our minds that such a calamity must be precluded for good in the future.

By denying that we are to blame, we do not exonerate ourselves. For truly the lips of the dying have accused this present social system. In the awful death struggle of the flower of the nations, rivers of tears have been shed on account of the heedlessness of all who, in this era of science and of numerous blessings for mankind, ought to have prevented official covetousness,—impudently concealed by the official mask, honoured and ushered in with official pomp,—from being tolerated in any neutrally thinking nation, without the demand of absolute publicity of all its actions 5).

In a community, unwitting and, in the case of most individuals, unsuspecting, a degenerate diplomacy has completed its stealthy work under the eyes of thousands, who, whilst fully a match for the diplomats, but being too strenuously engaged in honourable work, have simply allowed dishonourable rivalry to pursue its course 6).

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5) The nations should control their governments and diplomats in a better manner than they have done so far, and should not allow themselves to be drawn, either by their bullying attitude or by their secret deliberations, into conditions such as have now resulted from such diplomatic actions to the eternal shame of man. (Dr. S. van Houten, form. Dutch Minister of the Interior, 1914).

6) "Are the increasingly numerous international visits of municipal officials, of clergymen, of teachers, of trade unionists, of newspapermen, as well as the cordial and intimate reception given them by their hosts, all a sham and a pretense?—Are nations in the twentieth century, and nations



One thing, however, has been gained: in our social organisation authorised wholesale deceit has come to an end.

Man has suffered fearfully in this war, but has gained in truth, and truth remains the most precious possession, the more firmly the community has to rely upon the pledged word of a State, i. e. international agreements.

In the social struggle that has been carried on for many centuries between right and advantage, honour and spoliation, a corrupt diplomacy, blindly relying upon their superior strength, this time commenced the struggle, but their defeat is complete. In the international murder of millions, the feudal credentials and the respect solely due to the gold laced uniform, will be lost for ever. There is no human power that will continue tolerating the official deceit which we have witnessed, or which can spare a caste who have had no consideration for anyone or anything.

The diplomats,—whose duty it was to bring the nations closer together, to remove every misunderstanding or cause of dispute,—whose privilege as honoured guests of obtaining in the foreign country information of every description, ought to be designed to enable them, in the event of the slightest friction arising between the nations striving side by side, to stand by and support with their friendship the nation offering them hospitality,—who were bound in duty to let their respect for, at any rate their comprehension of, the foreign

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that represent the most in modern civilisation at that, so lost to shame that they fall upon each other's necks and grasp each other's hands and swear eternal fealty as conditions precedent to making an unannounced attack upon each other during a fog?" (N. M. Butler, 1909.)

national character benefit the country which, even after war had commenced, would afford them exceptional protection;—the diplomats whose existence was justified as long as the corps diplomatique could be regarded as an honorary corps,—they have caused an irreparable wrong, they have deceived the world. It is imperative that this corps be thoroughly reformed, notwithstanding all opposition: the dead require it at our hands. If we fall short in this reformation, others coming after us will persevere, in order that the social system be freed in its line of development of all brakes, such as servile discipline arising from all unlawful desire for promotion, the poison of casting suspicion on rival nations, the concealed paths of all official robbery.

On no condition whatever should it be tolerated that in the new international social system diplomats be exempt from the laws which, in the case of bodies in whom exceptional power is vested, regulate the use of their power and are designed to prevent abuse thereof.

The men of honour in this corps, those whose labours have been in the interest of peace, and who have recognised no other calling, will be the first to cooperate in this direction.

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In one respect all counsellors agree, namely that, after the termination of this war, but little attention should be paid to formal law and that intellectual efforts should aim at finding the satisfactory formula for the resuming of economic cooperation of nations, i.e. permanent peace 7).

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7) The work done by advocates of peace is too extensive to enable it to be dealt with fairly in a few notes. As

International exchange of ideas, which primarily began in connection with the necessity of satisfying economic requirements, will now have to be centered upon the great problems of existence of the present day. This exchange of thought will have to be carried on under the jealous supervision of one-sided privileges and under pressure brought to bear in order to secure such privileges. It will encounter numerous objections, and in the case of each objection and each obstacle obstructing a good solution of the intricate problem, it will have to pay attention to the sole fact which places it above all parties, namely: the undisputed certainty of its good faith. From the very outset, the international exchange of ideas will have to choose publicity as its only means of defence, and under no circumstances whatever, may it allow in the hands of those negotiating on international matters, any weapon other than publicity.

It is from science that the great light—the elevation of mankind—has come forth, because science has always given publicity to all its discoveries, all its attainments. Thus, in the domain of science, each

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regards international exchange of ideas, and its development during the last years, reference may be made to the volumes of the International Peace Yearbook.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace publishes a yearbook of its own and various other publications. Also the Lake Mohonk Conference of International Arbitration. Too little attention is paid to the value of such books for ordinary education. They ought not to be wanting in any secondary or primary school. „Une des premières leçons qu' on doit donner aux enfants c'est de leur dire: „L'étranger n'est pas un ennemi" (Richet, 1905). The organisation for peace, its development and struggles, ought to be known to everybody.

fresh step became a fresh acquisition for the social organisation. No rivalry in this domain, under whatever flag it was born or furthered, could degenerate into any kind of hostility other than personal enmity; the results of this rivalry invariably contributed towards the elevation of international thought. However violently certain scientists may have opposed each other, no thought of tampering with the international character of science entered their minds: on the contrary they were eager to earn the palm of science, each for himself, and to do so by means of publicity. In spite of personal susceptibilities they served the great circle of contemporaries, that is to say mankind 8).

As in the domain of science, so likewise in that of

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8) The conception to which expression is here given, refers to the devotion to science—which desires only to serve mankind (the general progress), whilst eliminating all personal or national advantage. From the standpoint that the inclination for science elevates the individual, it is clear that the possession of a title does not always coincide with scientific thought, even if the holders of the titles frequently suppose it does. The great misunderstanding existing on this point is shown in a lamentable manner in the following statement. „Wir Lehrer an Deutschlands Universitäten und Hochschulen dienen der Wissenschaft und treiben ein Werk des Friedens. . . Unser Glaube ist das für die ganze Kultur Europa's, das Heil an dem Siege hängt den der deutsche „Militarismus“ erkämpfen wird, die Manneszucht, die Treue, der Opfermut des einträchtigen deutschen Volkes“. (Erklärung von mehr als 4000 deutschen Hochschullehrern).

A few German writers also try to introduce a view of their own of liberty. „Aber dabei wird unser Freiheit immer eine andere sein als die der westlichen Nationen“. (der Geist der deutschen Kultur, Prof. Dr. E. Troeltsch, 1915).

“Nothing could be franker than the original explanation which the German chancellor gave of the breaking of the treaties concerning the neutrality of Belgium; but his frankness is evidence that he did not understand in the least the freeman's idea of the sanctity of contract—the foundation of all public law and usage in a free country“. (Ch. W. Eliot. 1915).

international competition,—in political matters as well as in business—,every step of its development must serve public interests and every advantage gained be a public advantage.

And as from the wide field of science are barred all who try to evade its publicity, from a desire of gain, so likewise should be excluded from the international cooperation of peoples every nation which refuses to acknowledge the first principle of good faith, viz., publicity: or which, after having been admitted as co-equal in international competition, endeavours to evade this principle.

It is obvious that objections will be raised against co-equality in trade competition: that people will not recognise in it the unity of science or the unity in communication which,—with one stroke of the pen,—brought about the beneficent solution of the international postal problem. Objections will be made to the principle of co-equality in official matters and trade competition by all who regard the equalisation for the small nations as a set back of the bigger countries, whilst the uncertainty as to the outcome of the war, and the awakened determination to exclude the present enemy from all commercial connections, after the war as well as now, will deter many people from accepting co-equality: this far-reaching principle of peace.

There is only one remedy: namely publicity, confidence in the convincing power of logic.

No race—as a people—would wish to recall the past with all its conflicts.

No people—as a nation—will annul in part the equality of individuals, the great principle of equity, or wish to see it assailed in the slightest degree.

No nation would wish to revoke the principle of equality which has been accepted in international postal communication.

Why then should any nation in the international intercourse—no matter which national group of a certain number of millions composes it—refuse to place the equality of existence and the international ways towards the improvement of existence on a line with the equivalence of the mind and the international ways of satisfying the mind?

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There are no hostile nations. This thesis will have to be accepted 9). That for the time being it will

9) Tous les progrès de l'humanité, qu'il s'agisse de progrès moraux ou de progrès matériels ont été taxés de chimériques (Richet 1899). „Déjà Schopenhauer faisait remarquer que la plus sottise vanité qui se puisse trouver, c'est celle des gens qui sont fiers d'appartenir à telle ou telle nationalité". (La guerre et la paix, Richet 1905).

„Il faut qu'il y ait une opinion publique disposé à regarder les autres peuples non comme des rivaux qu'il faut combattre, mais comme des amis avec qu'il importe de travailler pour l'accomplissement d'une tâche commune" (Hanotaux 1914).

“Is England to be destroyed by Germany or Germany to be destroyed by England, or France to disappear as France, because the special trader wants an extension of his field? This is the bald analysis of what has happened and a true statement of the history of the last few years. It would seem that the words *delenda est Carthago* must be in the heart of many, both German and English. But why this feeling? The Englishman cannot hate the German *per se*, or the German the Englishman to the extent of desiring the one to annihilate the other. There must be, apart from personality, some deep and powerful reason for the ill-feeling which has so lately been shown. The real reason is in that ever most potent cause of international dissension—trade jealousy, though trade itself is the creator of civilisation and in itself the most beneficent of human institutions". C. Rear Admiral F. E. Chadwick, 1912).

seem hazardous to many, does not lessen its logical value. Deceit seeks its paths, but the social revealing of every deceit strengthens the structure of equity in national law as well as in the international law of nations.

Until the outbreak of the war, the motive force of reciprocal state-interference in international competition was not considered inferior. They also, who had become acquainted with the partiality of government appointments from too close a distance, to regard interference in the international business domain as an example of good faith, were nevertheless inclined to expect from the development of international state-interference an improvement in the struggle for existence. This official interference was believed in because its pacific tendency was not doubted. Consequently there was little reason for not regarding, and even cooperating with abstinence from criticism of state-interference, as being in the general interest. The official deceit has now come to light too clearly. Not the alleged final aim nor progress, but advantage easily obtained was the main point. Led by an unreliable diplomacy, the road was cleared by means of concessions of various kinds to assure an easily procured commercial gain. It was the statesmen who held decorum in honour, and the privileged private combine who shared the profit. In the measure in which some opponent, or other left outside the combine, had recourse to publicity, one saw discord sown at any desired moment between independent nations, and their mutual good relations undermined by a misguided or by an unscrupulous press. As, however, covetousness alone was the motive, great

anxiety to calm public opinion was again and again noticed as soon as the disturbance had yielded the advantage desired. With the same vehemence with which persons of rank were attacked a few days before for having abandoned some principle, a few days later their most praiseworthy diplomatic dealings were mysteriously disclosed. And if it was considered necessary to stir the soul of the nation more deeply, the tale was made more touching by giving prominence to the irrevocable decision to abstain from further action or to a sacrificed health. Sometimes the comedy was too transparent, but this also satisfied the curious public, for it the sooner changed needless anxiety and even fear experienced by many into a lighthearted mood, and life was counted lighter.

Until this war broke out 10). A tremendous wave of disorganisation broke through this debased social body. On the one hand it opened a broad path for equity, but the foam was also disclosed. It is not surprising that after the forced respite, many people are already hoping to begin afresh, and that one sees the scenery already being moved on all sides, so that apparently the old "ignorant" press and the old

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10) „Seit fast einem Jahrzehnt haben wir beobachten müssen, wie das Nationalgefühl in stätiger Steigerung vielfach zum hassvollen schreienden Nationalismus ausartete. Keines der heute kriegführenden Länder hat sich davon freigehalten. . . Dieser entfesselte nationalische Geist drängte vom Wort zur Tat und leider muss man sagen das überall sein wirksamstes gefährlichstes Instrument die Presse war". (Berliner Tageblatt, Theod. Wolff, Chefredact, 1915).

"The growing power of the journalist must be subject to some discipline and the authority of a Guild would be preferable to the private hiring of an Editor which causes him in many cases to become the bondsman of a vested interest". (London Review of Reviews, C. J. Peer, Edit., 1915).



"yielding" public are being reckoned upon. There are only a few who are anxious about the reception of the "première", when the curtains are raised. And yet ere long everything will be entirely changed. We are on the eve of great social shocks, with only one power, and that is confidence, to turn the rising fermentation of the millions of deceived into good channels.

For the present only profit is considered. In the eyes of many it would be a pity not to take advantage 11).

In his address to the members of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America on the 3rd February 1914, President Wilson said that the thing which ought to remain farthest from one's thoughts was taking advantage of the fact that certain nations are for the time being disabled from competing in the international market 12).

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11) "Ocean rates are an important factor in the formation of the world's price for commodities. The chief directors of the few shipping lines have it in their power therefore, by federating their efforts to raise and lower the prices of staples in any of the principal ports of the world, by lowering or raising the cost of carriage. In this manner they lower the cost of the product and buy, then they raise the cost and sell and pocket the difference." (D. Lubin, founder of the Intern. Inst. of Agriculture).

"The Federal Trade Commission is investigating "unfair" competition by foreign combinations of manufacturers. It is also studying the menace of dumping" (U. S. A., 1915).

12) "The thing farthest from my thought is taking advantage of nations now disabled in that competition (in foreign markets as between merchants of different nations) and seeking a sudden selfish advantage because they are for the time being disabled". (President Wilson, 1915)

"If the United States is to have any direct influence finally in the terms of settlement of the war, such influence will depend largely on the confidence the warring nations have in our fairness and justice. This will be tested most largely by whether we play the game fairly during the war". (Filence, V. Pres. Int. Congress Ch. of C. 1915).

We see nothing but the contrary. And nothing else is conceivable in view of the character which international competition has been compelled to assume 13).

From the very moment that politics took possession of State-intervention in business, coveteousness and the desire to abuse power entered into the foreground, the merchants' guild was attacked in its co-equality, i.e. its honour and its power to defend its honour. The State interfering in business, from the moment it acted as a commercial traveller, did not accept the highest commercial principles exclusively 14). Not being free in many instances with regard to the selection of persons, and hence not always fortunate either, the interfering State did not scorn inferior means. Abuse of experience gained in the service of other persons, cunning and

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13) „At this time come to us, come to us beseechingly all the neutral powers. Shall we or shall we not take that opportunity to the full, to the full not to a part?“ (Hon. W. C. Redfield, 1915).

„We have been in private business in a great many directions“. (Mc. Adoo, Secr. Treasury, 1915).

„The manner in which the U.S. Department of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is attempting to increase American trade abroad, was outlined yesterday by S. S. B., special agent of the Department. Mr. B. has recently returned from a tour of nearly a year's duration in the ports and inland cities of South America... His preliminary training in the hardware field was gained as saleagent for both American and German concerns in South America“.

„Kiautschau bildet ein Einfallsthor für den Handel und für deutsche Kultur in China“. (Wirkl. Geh. Legationsrat v. König, 1913).

„Economic disarmament must precede military“. (Dr. A. Heringa, Secr. of the "Dutch Free Trade Society", 1915).

14) The character of the State is contrary to that of any commercial transaction; the latter may sacrifice the future for a temporary advantage, but the former never. The State is permanent, should at any rate be so in its own eyes. It ruins itself the moment it abandons this standpoint. O.K.O.

jealousy increased the keenness of competition instead of elevating it. In giving heed to those who were afraid to expose themselves to free competition or who failed therein, each State has sacrificed for temporary benefit its highest business principle, viz., good faith.

Universally, personal action in business has been declared "not of age" and the interests of the clique have been promoted 15).

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Shall individuality so deeply humiliated by the murder of millions, retain unimpaired its right to think and to exist when peace is declared? Shall the scientific standpoint, that of free men, working for progress, be accepted? Or shall the numerous assailants of individual freedom, militarism, sectarianism, the political moves win the day? Shall the clique again rule over individuals as over persons who are not of age? 16).

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15) "What I would like very much to be shown is a method of cooperation which is not a method of combination. Most of our combinations have a safety lock, and you have to know the combination to get in. I want to know how these cooperative methods can be adopted for the benefit of every body who wants to use them, and I say frankly if I am shown that, I am for them. If I cannot be shown them, I am against them". (President Wilson, 1915).

16) "The public opinion of the world is the true international executive". (Senator Root, 1909).

"It is this struggle between two views of life or rather two views or worldaffairs, (— which one might call the warlike and the pacific —), which will decide with regard to the continuation of war between civilised States". (Dr. W. H. de Beaufort, form. Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Member of the Perm. Court of Arbitration).

"So long as the Court of Arbitration, the notable institution, founded by the First Peace Conference, is maintained—which is the case hitherto—there remains in my opinion a good chance that the great work of the peace conferences

Sufficient light has been cast upon the shadows surrounding us, to justify our paying closer attention to the signs which predict a thorough purification of the social organisation.

One of these signs is the admission of the injustice perpetrated. Admissions such as in the case of the violation of Belgium's soil, and the recent statement made by a minister of the Crown in the Union of South Africa, regarding the wrong committed towards the Boer Republics, point to the experience that no great injustice in the lives of nations can be perpetrated with impunity. More strongly than could have been expected has the demand for reparation of injustice come forth from the shadows of the past. The rectification of numerous State misdeeds, which were deemed forgotten, is announced in the forthcoming peace labours with a decision which leaves no room for doubt.

For the first time in history, mankind has the courage to express, through authorised representatives, opposition to the evil which,—as was imagined in official circles—had been effaced by time.

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will once more be resumed". (Jhr. Dr. A. P. C. van Karnebeek, Dutch Minister of State, Pres. of the Carnegie Institution 1915).

"We must all agree that the neutralisation of routes of commerce is impossible until there is a real Court at the Hague and a force to carry out the orders (for behind every effective court must lie force—the police force)". (Ch. W. Eliot, 1907)

"Personally I do not see any reason why matters of national honour should not be referred to courts of arbitration, as matters of private or national property are". (President Taft).

"It is not alone material and selfish consideration that render organisations of working men sympathetic adherents of the propaganda for 'international arbitration'". (Hon. Ch. P. Neill, 1912).

If, in settling the war, this principle is really established by public opinion, how powerfully would the efforts for peace, which have hitherto been ignored, press forward as a world-power for good. How little indeed does this social system serve its own interests, and united for good, use its world-power.

Progress need not be doubted. There is no thinker or poet who did not,—like Goethe in *Faust*, even when on the verge of self-destruction—cast away doubt and cause the struggling soul to find rest in the only one true source of satisfaction: viz, sacrifice to mankind; none who did not announce,—like immortal Shakespeare in *Lady Macbeth*—that all gain from robbery has never proved worth robbing. There are others, hundreds, from Homer until the present day, whose names may be mentioned, but not a single one regarded injustice otherwise than as a crime. If we look back in history, a Solon, a Plato, a Kant, not one of the very greatest who did not hold peace in honour as the aim of existence.

Not one of the greatest political economists of the more recent times, such as von Humboldt, Bastiat, Cobden, not to mention others, who has not pointed out that the interests of prosperity are served in the safest manner by the closer union of nations.

Innumerable are the mistakes made and admitted in this domain, but in this respect, also, progress in the international life of nations cannot be doubted, however bitterly minds be now depressed 17).

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17) One of the most instructive examples is the action of the State in the period preceding the French revolution. see: „Le Pacte de Famine et les opérations sur les grains”,

No matter how great and many-sided the covetousness which has unchained this war may be,—it is impotent against the example by which our era has excelled: the hundreds of millions of gold which, obtained by one individual, have been voluntarily sacrificed to progress;—it is powerless, because its most formidable efforts no longer render void the international thought of the nations. And similarly to the abolition of the most diverse forms of arbitrariness in the earliest centuries, of the ecclesiastical world power in later times, and of the aristocracy as supreme power at the time of the revolution, so will now unlimited covetousness, the power of stupidity, fall. Not in battles will its sure defeat come in the first place, it will not escape its defeat for this stringent reason that it has called forth the scientific army, all the servants of progress against itself.

The same spirit which moved the wealthiest men to manifest to the whole world that the struggle for existence ought to be developed in a more honourable way; the spirit which called science and art forth from its condition of humiliation must elevate the community to a happier existence. For not only does

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par Léon Biollay: „Les résultats de cette longue et douloureuse expérience sont oubliés, à peine soupçonne-t-on, la cause véritable des erreurs économiques qui, par leur insuccès, par l'animadversion qu'elles ont soulevé ont largement contribué à la chute de la vieille monarchie”.

„Pour remplir la mission qui leur avait été donnée, pour faire fleurir l'industrie et le commerce, elle (l'administration) ne connut que les règlements et les privilèges et elle conserva toujours une incurable défiance pour la liberté”.

„Bourdon de l'Oise proposa l'ordre du jour ainsi motivé: Le projet de décret tend à donner un directeur au commerce, le véritable directeur du commerce c'est la liberté”. (l'An. III).

the fact, that the greatest treasures collected in a life time are donated to the community during life, show an entirely altered insight in the too fiercely envied great personal possessions, the donators have done mankind a much greater service by their recognition that science and art are considered equal in value to the highest triumph in the business domain.

The community which holds this view has outgrown the age in which suppression and rapine formed the most coveted privilege of worldpower. It has debased war to insanity and consequently defeated each army in the final settlement upon which its hope is built.

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This great problem requires the attention of everybody: to call forth all the forces for good, combining the experience of thousands and hundreds of thousands in one great action for peace and against injustice (18).

Freed at last from the system of alms and tips, recognised at last as bearers of light in the service of mankind, science and art have learned in our age to hold their heads more proudly, and they will now have to come forward in the action for the repression of war.

The regulation of warfare and the restriction of all abuse of power during war, have proved to be impossible. Room is left for protests, but the lack of confidence in these protests is most clearly shown by

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18) „Jamais dans l'évolution historique mouvement d'idées pouvant aboutir à une transformation profonde de la société n'a été mieux préparée". (La fin de la guerre, P. Outet, 1914).

the fact that the same party, which protests against the violation of maritime law, misuses the air in the grossest manner. Sentences without trials, seizure of persons as hostages, mutilation and murder, asphyxiating gasses, incendiarism in churches and historical buildings, all these matters prove that war recognises no law.

And not only does this lack of justice apply to all parties involved in this war, but it has been seen that there is no justice for neutral countries either. Even their freedom is subject to the misuse of any predominating power. So complicated and grave a state of war presented by the present world-wide conflict had never been foreseen. This explains the failure of all means of obtaining justice during the war.

If it is true that the labours of many people intended for the upholding of justice have thereby failed to attain the original aim; the gratifying results, particularly of this work, are that peace can now be striven for with more consciousness of purpose.

Efforts must now be put forth to obtain peace.

All neutrally-thinking nations will have to demand without delay that, in connection with the reforming of all official action in the international domain, the respective departments of all States,—of which typically enough so large a number bear the name of “Department of foreign affairs”, the promotion of friendly relations shall be officially recognised as equal in importance to all action regarding commercial treaties, custom tariffs etc. For the promotion of “the interests of peace”, the same amount should be voted as for “foreign affairs”, and this is the sacrifice which neutral nations have to make



during the course of the war already. The principle will have to be adopted that in no neutral land may the budget for "closer relations between nations" be lower than that for war purposes.

The time of half measures is past.

In many eyes the charm of the war is its formidable action, its organisation which does not admit "cannot", i. e. the unwillingness which our social system opposed to the most necessary reforms, and on account of which it continually—too timorously and easy going indeed—rejected the most urgently needed improvements.

The outward display of all the preparations for war has always charmed superficial minds, and it is natural that thousands should gape admiringly at its development of force, however shameful it be, so long as it does not effect them personally.

It will not be possible for us to imagine the world without thoughtless people, eye-servants, and fools. But even if their number arouses astonishment, these masses are too wanting in resolution to hamper the process of development of the community. They will be equally ready to morrow to applaud an action for a good cause. It is the wavering intermediate masses who, as they do not find strength in independent thought, in their belief that all progress has to contend with opposition, distrust progress. To a certain extent however, their irresoluteness drives independent minds, desiring progress, to deeds in order that the baser action should not prematurely gain an important number of adherents.

In whatever light we regard this vast field of labour we are forced to strengthen the organisation for peace,

which organisation, from its ethical standpoint, hitherto believed it could dispense with an official character in all countries. It is our duty to give prominence to the organisation for peace, as a Department of State service as well, and from henceforward to bind the Governments to its activities.

It is fortunate for mankind that this organisation can speedily be carried into effect, that it only needs concentrating the numerous intellectual branches in this domain, in order to designate for each country the responsible persons who will represent the Government Peace Departments of their countries, and who will be responsible for the performance of the work.

It is plain that from Holland goes forth the appeal which is to unite all the intellectual work in this direction, but equally that for the powerful movement for the realisation of the reform indicated, our eyes should be turned towards the country which has done so much good work for peace, viz., the United States of North America.

A brilliant role is reserved for the New World in this respect. Shall we doubt its willingness to serve mankind?

It is true, that America's position as regards international competition is not free from great shadows. Too great a desire for prosperity has repeatedly turned the scale in the United States when measures of gross self interest have been taken, which have caused "the land of the dollar" to be despised as an ethic power. But side by side with these shadows stand the facts which to the initiated proclaim America to be the land where science in the service of the poor

first found its pioneers and the necessary hundreds of millions 19).

America took the first step on the road which promises to bring the light of science to social "minors". The combating of the clique, "the trust", emanated from the United States. For this reason that country may be the first in this struggle for the rights of mankind, to plant the ensign around which the neutral countries will be able to assemble. That these countries will do so with great gratitude, is beyond doubt.

May Holland, privileged as she is by the erection of the Peace Palace on her soil, have the honour of welcoming in the temple of peace the first international conference for the closer union of peoples as a real elevation of international competition; and may this country,—whose honoured Queen commenced her reign with the words: "high is my calling, glorious the task which God has laid on my shoulders"—promote and serve thus consciously and full of confidence, the new task of peace of the nations 20).

O. KAMERLINGH ONNES.

*Amsterdam*, Oct. 1915.

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19) "From the very beginning of our national history the United States has, to a great extent, molded current international law" (W. A. Mowry: *Can America secure the peace of the world*, 1896).

"The movement we are interested in only needs to be fully appreciated by ourselves to succeed". (Hon. Rob. Treat Paine. 1895).

20) "The ceremony in The Church at Delft will never be forgotten by those who were privileged to attend. A grand chorus of one hundred voices rendered Dutch national hymns, Mendelsohn's "How lovely are the messengers that bring us good tidings of Peace" and "My Country, 't is

thee", as magnificently as possible. Mr. White delivered an oration which not only fittingly celebrated the occasion and the genius of Grotius as the founder of international law, but also in the peroration contained an admonition which materially assisted in bringing the labours of the conference to a successful conclusion. His appeal to the representatives of the entire civilized world, will remain an oratorical classic as he said: From this tomb of Grotius, I seem to hear a voice which says to us as delegates of the nations: Go on with your mighty work, avoid as you would avoid the germs of pestilence, those exhalations of international hatred". (F. W. Holls, on the First Hague Peace Conference, 1900).

*Donnes, O. Kamerlingh*  
*Note from Aug 1916*  
*Published in Dutch, Aug. 1916, in "Vrede door Recht", monthly of the*  
*Dutch Organisation "Peace through Justice".*

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## BASES OF A LASTING PEACE.

*tr. by J. H. Chambers.*

"The time for half measures is past".  
Recognition of co-equality of nations  
and publicity. O. K. O. Nov. 1915.

In answering the question which bases must be considered the right ones for a lasting peace, I think that first of all we ought to recall Kant's words that up to now every so-called peace treaty was not meant to be anything else than an armistice <sup>1)</sup>. The insincerity which characterised all former peace-arrangements must give way to the conviction that for all governments acknowledgment of each others' co-equality and publicity of all state-action in the international domain are imposed by the development of the community and that any evasion opposing this development deserves disapproval and must be repressed. At the approaching peace none of the belligerent parties may refrain from making the declaration that in future in the international

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<sup>1)</sup> Immanuel Kant. Zum ewigen Frieden: Von der Einhelligkeit der Politik mit der Moral nach dem transscendentalen Begriffe des öffentlichen Rechts, 1795.

The Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg could scarcely in his speech of the 5th June last have thought of peace in the distinguished spirit of Kant (and Lessing: "Parabel der drei Ringe". Beethoven, 9th symphony) in the speech: "Vor einem halben Jahre am 9 Dezember habe ich hier zum ersten Mal auf Grund unserer militärischen Lage von unserer Friedensbereitschaft gesprochen. Das konnte ich mit der Zuversicht thun dasz die Kriegslage sich noch weiter verbessern wurde".

domain the law of nations shall stand above the individual law of each State.

A new right of man, patriotism, for which each party has fought more fiercely in this war than formerly for any religious principle, in future must be recognized as unassailable.

If the coming peace does not determine the co-equality of the national idea, i. e. its unassailability, an armistice only will be signed again 2).

From this point of view the present efforts of the belligerents to continue after the conclusion of peace the party-grouping, which has become intensified in this war, not only merit disapproval, but on the neutrals rests the duty of preventing its continuation 3).

All international domain in future ought to be neutral—that is, public domain.

2) "Ich sehe die ganze Nation in Heldengröße um ihre Zukunft ringen. Unsere Söhne und Brüder, in treuer Kameradschaft kämpfen und sterben sie miteinander. Da ist die gleiche Liebe zur Heimat in allen" (v. Bethmann Hollweg, Juni 1916). And not in poor Belgium? What blindness regarding the conception of patriotism, and alas how far from peace.

The conception of peace and not an armistice was correctly expressed in the declaration of the French State president on the 14th July in the lines. „Plus nous avons horreur de la guerre, plus nous devons travailler passionnément à en empêcher le retour". (M. Poincaré) 1916.

3) Die Tagung des Deutsch-Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Wirtschaftsverbandes begann heute vormittag (5 Juni) unter überaus zahlreicher Beteiligung. Justizrath Dr. Kahn besprach die wirtschaftlichen Ziele die nach dem Kriege zu erreichen versucht werden müssen. Die anschließende Erörterung liess erkennen dasz man im groszen und ganzen vollkommen einig ist und dasz ein wirtschaftliches Zusammenarbeiten der Mittelmächte notwendig ist und dauernd gefördert werden musz. (Congress in München 5.6 Juni 1916) Conférence économique des alliés à Paris, les 14, 15, 16 et 17 juin 1916 Mesures permanentes d'entre aide et de collaboration entre les Alliés (Recommendations of the Economic conference of the Allies).

By respecting this decision all secret measures which aim at damaging a former enemy must of course lapse: but also in the national domain, in the sovereign territory of the State, the latter should in future forfeit the right to take secret measures which may do injury to others outside its territory.

The right of each State to take within its own frontiers such measures as it deems necessary for its development, and for opposing undesirable influences should remain unimpaired 4). In future no State should be allowed to take domestic measures purposing to injure competition abroad, and even competition of third parties abroad, unless it gives complete publicity of such measures. To these measures belong: export premiums, and other privileges for the increase of export, formation of trusts, etc. 5).

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4) The wounds inflicted in this war in the economic domain as well as in other domains are of such a kind that temporary special precautionary measures will have to be taken to assist locally disorganised trades and impoverished districts. The whole of this, however, concerns the national domain and the measures for this restoration need not therefore be discussed here.

5) Of every weakness of the opposite party each State tried to take advantage. The whole consular system was modelled on this line. Every tariff change was influenced by the inferior view of competition. Nowhere was expression given to the wish to attain by a better division of labour, general welfare, better conditions of life, shorter working hours, less discontent. Everywhere self-interest tried to close its own door and to keep the doors of others open. Where force could be used, State interference did not scruple to threaten, but by preference this was done in the dark. Appearances only were preserved. Thoughts will have to be broader, the international idea will have to be drawn into the circle of state interference. Then the time for sifting will draw nigh and competition will become for the nations what it ought to be: a closer union, the road towards improvement of each individual existence.

The deception resulting from secret diplomatic measures and all the sorrow caused by official violation of law have been imprinted too vividly on the minds of contemporaries to allow their further malignant growth meeting in any way with approval 6).

All the world over the acquired rights of man call for the respecting of the co-equality which has been naturally brought about by the instinctive closer union of nations.

Looking at the matter from an international standpoint, each of the acquired rights is unassailable and the contemporary must see that all the rights obtained emerge unassailable from this war. They are of too high a nature to be enlisted into the service of any party. The modern community cannot tolerate any manners of highway robbers and pirates; its views of traffic will not permit the international postal service to be used for the incitement of crimes and as an accomplice for smuggling.

Every international service requires to be utilised in the interests of mankind. Of all legal regulations

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6) "Chaque être humain sait maintenant d'expérience que son travail, son bien-être, sont à la merci de l'instabilité internationale. En réalité le vrai-principe à instaurer, c'est l'établissement d'une Société des Nations à base d'égalité et de solidarité.

Après la gigantesque ruée des nations, les calamités subies, les sacrifices consentis, après le monde d'idées et de sentiments apparus dans les cerveaux et dans les coeurs, il ne pourra plus s'agir seulement de territoires et d'indemnités de guerre. Ceci sera réglé par les belligérants, peut être sur le champ de bataille même. Une tâche toute autre s'imposera ensuite. Arrêter les conditions qui doivent assurer à l'avenir la vie et la sécurité du monde. Ce ne peut être que l'oeuvre d'un congrès général siégeant *en constituante* et élaborant un traité qui contiendra les principes même de la charte mondiale". P. Otlet, les Problèmes Internationaux et la guerre. 1916.



which concern the economic competition of nations internationalisation must therefore be demanded at the coming peace. For its foundations, the local regulation—as in the case of postal communications—can be different in different countries, i.e. each State can, with a view to its domestic expenditure, for the development of its prosperity and the maintenance of all institutions which each country regards as being in agreement with its national character, fix the tariff of import duties (also excises, patents regulations, etc.) which it considers right; but in international intercourse, i.e. in the treatment of the imports of each country, from all directions, equality shall predominate so that both privilege or enmity in the international domain shall have ceased to exist 7).

General freedom of trade, i.e. exemption from import duties in all countries as far as they do not bear a fiscal character 8) should have to coincide with the acknowledgment of the abandonment of all unfair competition. As, however, the burdens of the war will weigh on various States so heavily that a strengthening of revenue will be urgently necessary, the application of the free trade theory will be out of the question for the first few years. It can, meanwhile, be decided that an international tariff commission shall fix at once maxima for certain groups, each country remaining at liberty to levy lower import duties, [on the above mentioned basis of equality

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7) The clause of the most-favoured-nation will consequently also lapse.

8) The word of Bastiat, the pioneer of free trade, is known: "les droits d'entrée seront l'ancre de salut de nos finances" (Fred. Bastiat, 1846).

in their application in international intercourse] 9).

The economic competition in the international market must embrace the principle of publicity in the fullest sense of the term. On every industrial product offered in the international market must be mentioned the country of origin and the number under which it is registered in the international registers. An article which does not bear the mark of the country of origin nor the number under which it has been registered by the international tariff commission shall be regarded as fraudulent import.

That which must be certain in the international domain is that all false notions of economic domination by force or by stealthy means must give way to the view that the development of the modern community is only to be furthered by reciprocal esteem.

The results of former peace conferences and all decisions taken to promote the honourable competition of nations shall serve as a basis for further negotiations and in no respect will a step backwards be possible.

If the assertion that none of the belligerents had in view anything else than to ensure their independent

9) In this connection it will deserve consideration to take advantage of the international standpoint to arrange in future simpler duties on large groups (a: first necessities of life, b: supplementary articles, c: substitutes, d: articles of luxury, e: other articles) which could be possible as soon as the idea of enmity is excluded from competition.

The law of conveyance in transit will need revision. A decision will have to be taken about the colonies. The Netherlands gave with regard to their valuable colonial dominions an example of broad commercial views by placing in the Dutch oversea colonies the import of foreign goods on a par with those from the mother country.

The Belgian proposal to neutralise Central Africa during the European war by R. C. Hawkin (Papers read before the Grotius Society in the year 1915).

existence, and to obtain guarantees for its development, if the assertion is not vain, it will have to follow that the internationalisation of all resolutions regulating economic competition in the international domain must meet at once with general approval 10).

For the neutral countries situated so differently as regards impending danger of war an agreement whereby they promise to support one another in case of actual attack could hardly be drafted. To none of the neutral countries, however, does the internationalisation of economic competition present difficulties and consequently these countries are bound to take the first step towards a pacific and more honourable cooperation of the nations.

O. KAMERLINGH ONNES.

*Amsterdam, July, 1916.*

10) "Le principe de l'égalité des Etats souverains est la pierre angulaire du droit international.

C'est à la Conférence de la Haye qu'il doit appartenir de formuler les termes du Traité de Paix à intervenir. Elle doit agir comme organe diplomatique de l'Union des Nations civilisées qui toutes, sans en excepter une seule, ont un intérêt vital à ce que la vie du monde reprenne un cours normal". P. Otlet, *La fin de la Guerre*, 1914.







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